

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

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AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 14783

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINS, PINT, CH  
SUBJECT: GUIDELINES FOR PUBLIC SECURITY WORK

REF: HONG KONG 13909

SUMMARY: A PEOPLE'S DAILY ARTICLE BY THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC SECURITY APPEARS TO BE THE SIGNAL FOR A REORGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY APPARATUS BY ELIMINATING "GANG OF FOUR" FOLLOWERS FROM ITS RANKS, REINSTATING VETERAN SECURITY CADRES AND RESTORING PRE-CULTURAL REVOLUTION GUIDELINES FOR PUBLIC SECURITY WORK. THE ARTICLE ENJOINS PUBLIC SECURITY ORGANS FROM ENGAGING IN "ESPIONAGE" WITHIN THE PARTY AND DIRECTS THEM TO CONCENTRATE ON CONSOLIDATING PUBLIC ORDER. THE AUTHORS CASTIGATE THE "GANG" FOR ITS PERSECUTION OF VETERAN SECURITY CADRES. THE ARTICLE'S STRESS ON THE NEED TO BE PRUDENT IN CARRYING OUT ARRESTS AND EXECUTIONS MAY BE DIRECTED AT AREAS WHERE EXCESSES HAVE BEEN COMMITTED IN THE ANTI-"GANG" CAMPAIGN. THE NCNA  
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ENGLISH SUMMARY OF THE ARTICLE GAVE PROMINENT PLAY TO THIS "POLICY OF PRUDENCE", POSSIBLY IN AN EFFORT TO COUNTER WESTERN CRITICISM OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN CHINA. END SUMMARY.

1. THE LEAD ARTICLE IN THE NOVEMBER 28 PEOPLE'S DAILY PROVIDES GUIDELINES FOR PUBLIC SECURITY WORK

IN THE POST-"GANG OF FOUR" ERA. THE ARTICLE, WRITTEN BY THE THEORETICAL STUDY GROUP OF THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC SECURITY, MAY SIGNAL A REORGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY APPARATUS - ELIMINATING FOLLOWERS OF THE GANG OF FOUR, REINSTATING VETERAN SECURITY CADRES AND RESTORING THE FUNCTIONS AND GUIDELINES FOR PUBLIC SECURITY WORK WHICH EXISTED BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. THE MINISTRY'S WRITERS STRONGLY DEFEND THE "LONG-TESTED AND EXPERIENCED" SECURITY CADRES WHO WORKED BEFORE THE CR, PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO WERE PURGED - "EVEN PUT IN JAIL AND TORTURED TO DEATH" - DURING THE PAST ELEVEN YEARS.

2. IN REHABILITATING PRE-CR POLICIES, THE ARTICLE DOES FOR PUBLIC SECURITY WORK WHAT OTHER RECENT ARTICLES HAVE DONE FOR EDUCATION, CULTURE, AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. THE SECURITY APPARATUS IS FORBIDDEN TO ENGAGE IN "ESPIONAGE" WITHIN THE PARTY, A PERVERSION OF ITS FUNCTION BLAMED ON THE GANG OF FOUR, AND IS NOW DIRECTED TO CONCENTRATE ON HEADLINE "HARD BLOWS" AGAINST CRIMINALS IN ORDER TO CONSOLIDATE PUBLIC ORDER.

3. THE RESTORATIONIST NATURE OF THE ARTICLE IS ILLUSTRATED IN A LONG PASSAGE ON THE IMPORTANCE OF PARTY CONTROL OVER THE SECURITY ORGANS WHICH APPEARS CONFIDENTIAL

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TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN ALMOST WORD FOR WORD FROM A SPEECH GIVEN AT THE 8TH PARTY CONGRESS ON SEPTEMBER 19, 1956 BY LO JUI-CHING, WHO HELPED TO BUOLD THE PRE-CR PUBLIC SECURITY SYSTEM DURING HIS TEN YEARS AS PUBLIC SECURITY MINISTER (1949-59). LO, NOW A LEADING MEMBER OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION AND A CLOSE ALLY OF TENG HSIAO-PING, MAY IN FACT BE THE MAN DIRECTING THE REOGANIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SECURITY APPARATUS.

4. THE ARTICLE CRITICIZES "LIN PIAO, THE GANG OF FOUR AND THAT ILK" FOR SABOTAGING PUBLIC SECURITY WORK AND PERSECUTING SECURITY CADRES AND POLICE, CITING SPECIFIC INSTANCES OF THEIR NEFARIOUS ACTIVITIES FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CR UP UNTIL THE OVERTHROW OF THE GANG. THE ARTICLE CHARGES, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CR THE GANG COLLUDEB WITH ITS "FOLLOWERS IN THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC SECURITY" TO COMPILE MATERIAL AGAINST A NUMBER OF LEADING CENTRAL AUTHORITIES. THEY ALLEGEDLY TAMPERED WITH DOCUMENTS UNDER THE EXCUSE OF CLEANING OUT THE FILES. (COMMENT: THE GANG'S FOLLOWERS IN THE MINISTRY PROBABLY INCLUDED

HSIEH FU-CHIH, THEN MINISTER, BUT A MORE INTRIGUING POSSIBILITY IS THAT ONE OF THE CULPRITS WAS WANG TUNG-HSING, WHO WAS VICE MINISTER OF PUBLIC SECURITY FROM 1960 TO 1966. END COMMENT) HUA KUO-FENG IS PRAISED HIGHLY FOR HIS EFFORTS IN PUTTING SECURITY WORK BACK ON THE RIGHT TRACK AFTER HE WAS APPINTEED MINISTER IN JANUARY 1975.

5. THE AUTHORS STRESS THE NEED TO BE PRUDENT IN ARRESTING PEOPLE AND "ESPECIALLY IN EXECUTING PEOPLE." THIS POINT IS EXPANDED WITH PASSAGES FROM VOLUME FIVE OF MAO'S WORKS QUOTING THE CHAIRMAN DURING THE 1951 CAMPAGIN TO SUPPRESS "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES." MAO SAID THAT, "IN CASES WHERE IT IS MARGINAL WHETHER TO CONFIDENTIAL

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EXECUTE, UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD THERE BE AN EXECUTION AND TO DO OTHERWISE WOULD BE A MISTAKE." HE ADDED THAT IN THE CASES OF "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES WHO ARE GUILDY OF CAPITAL OFFENSES BUT HAVE NOT INCURRED DEEP POPULAR HATRED" THE POLICY WAS TO HAND DOWN THE DEATH SENTENCES, GRANT A TWO-YEAR REPRIEVE, AND GIVE THEM A LAST CHANCE TO REPENT DURING FORCED LABOR. THE ARTICLE QUOTES MAO'S ADVICE THAT THIS POLICY WILL "AVOID MISTAKES AND WIN THE SYMPATHY OF SOCIETY." IT STRESSES THE NEED FOR "ACCURACY" IN DEALING WITH "REACTIONARIES AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES."

6. THE GANG OF FOUR, WHOSE CRIMES ARE DISCUSSED THROUGHOUT THE ARTICLE, ARE NOT MENTIONED IN SPECIFIC CONNECTION WITH THE INSTRUCTIONS ON MAKING ARRESTS AND IMPOSING THE DEATH SENTENCE. BUT THE ADMONITIONS OF CAUTION UNDOUBTEDLY APPLY AS WELL TO CONTEMPORARY "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES." WHILE THE ARTICLE MAKES NO CRITICISM OF PRESENT DAY SECURITY WORK, THE CALL FOR PRUDENCE MAY BE ESPECIALLY DIRECTED AT AREAS WHERE EXCESSES HAVE BEEN COMMITTED IN THE ANTI-GANP CAMPAIGN. THE ARTICLE'S REPEATED EMPHASIS ON MAO'S ORDER FORBIDDING THE USE OF EXTORTED CONFESSIONS SUGGESTS CRITICISM OF OVER-ZEALOUS INVESTIGATORS.

7. AS STATED IN REFTTEL, IN NEARLY ALL CASES IN WHICH GANG FOLLOWERS HAVE BEEN REPORTED EXECUTED, THE VICTIMS ALSO WERE ACCUSED OF PARTICIPATING IN ACTS OF VIOLENCE. MANY OF THOSE EXECUTED OWED SO-CALLED "BLOOD DEBTS" - PUTTING THEM INTO THE CATEGORY OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES WHICH MAO IN 1951 SAID DESERVED EXECUTION. IN THE VAST MAJORITY OF REPORTED CASES, GANG COLLABORATORS HAVE BEEN CONFIDENTIAL

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PLACED UNDER VARIOUS FORMS OF ARREST, VARYING FROM  
CONFINEMENT TO THEIR HOMES OR OFFICES TO ACTUAL  
IMPRISONMENT.

8. THE NCNA ENGLISH SUMMARY OF THE ARTICLE GAVE  
PROMINENT PLAY TO THE "POLICY OF PRUDENCE" IN DEALING  
WITH COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES, POSSIBLY IN AN EFFORT  
TO BRING IT TO THE ATTENTION OF WESTERN CRITICS OF  
HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN CHINA. (MORE OF SUCH  
EFFORTS MAY BE EXPECTED SINCE THE PRC HAS RECENTLY  
BEEN ENGAGED IN DETAILED REVIEW OF ITS PROPAGANDA WORK.)  
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